1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

three rooms, the inner and outer rooms being separated by a third, called the *nedrkursh*. Each of the five villages at which these dairies are found is the funeral-place for males of the clan to which the village belongs, and the body of a dead man is placed in the outer room of the dairy at each place during the funeral ceremonies. 234 343 621

At Nòdrs and Tedshteiri (villages of the Nòdrs clan) it is said that there were at one time dairies each of which had seven rooms. The ruins of these, which were of the grade called *kudrpali*, are still to be seen.

Sometimes the same building serves for two dairies, especially at the less important villages of a clan. In these cases the building resembles that kind of hut which is called *merkalars*, one compartment of the hut opening at the side. At the villages at which I found dairies of this kind, the front part of the hut was a *kudrpali* and the part with the door at the side was a *wursuli*. In these cases each dairy has only one room.

In every dairy which has more than one room, the dairy vessels are kept in the inner room and the actual dairy operations are performed by the dairyman in this room. He only is allowed to go into the inner room, while other men may go into the outer room and, in those cases in which there are three rooms, into the middle room.

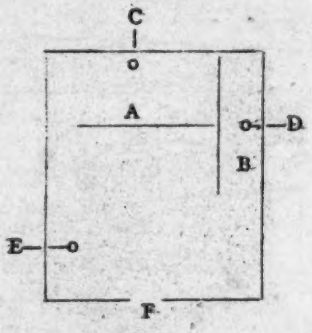
When a village dairy has two or more rooms, the outer room first entered from the outside is often used as a sleeping-place and in this case usually has two of the couches called *tön*, one on each side with a fireplace between them. That on the right-hand side as one enters is called the *meitön* (*meiltön*), or high (superior) bed, and that on the left-hand side is the *kitön*, or low (inferior) bed. 234 343 352

In the outer room is kept the *kepun* or *kaipun* (hand vessel), used to hold the water with which the dairyman washes his hands. The *masth*, or axe used for cutting firewood, and the *tek* or *tekh*, a basket used to bring rice or grain into the dairy, are also kept in this room. [415]

The fireplace between the two sleeping-places is usually made of four stones and is called *kudrvars*. At the *wursuli* it is made of three stones and is called *waskal*. [354]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

343 *ertatmar.* The following sketch of the arrangement was made
352 by Kòdrner, but I do not feel confident of its accuracy.



A. *Pàtatmar.*
B. *Ertatmar.*
C. The *mani* or bell.
D. The *telk* or lamp.
E. *Wastal* or fireplace.
F. The door.

FIG. 22.

● 354 The lamp is of iron, bought in the bazaar: it is called *tudrkpelk* or *tagarspelk*, according as it is hung by a hook or on a chain. This distinction probably holds for other village dairies.

THE DAILY LIFE OF THE WURSOL

234 The dairy work of the *wursol* is carried out on the same
512 general lines as that of the *palikartmokh*, but the order and
788 method of the various operations are more strictly regulated. Before the *wursol* goes into the dairy in the morning he washes his hands with water from the vessel called *kepun*,[1] bows down at the threshold and enters the dairy; salutes the *mani* (*kaimukhti*), goes to the *ertatmar* and touches the *majpariv*; then to the *patatmar* and touches the *patat*. Then, after lighting the fire, he takes the *mu* off the *patat*, and, if the milk has coagulated, he begins to churn. After churning for a little while he puts some of the coagulated milk on the *mani*. After the churning is over, he milks, putting some of the first milk on the bell.

234 After the milking is finished, buttermilk is distributed to
272 the women, and a mixture of milk and buttermilk is given to
415 the men, who come to drink it standing outside the dairy. The *wursol* then drinks buttermilk and eats. When taking

[1] Probably a corruption of *kaipun*, hand vessel.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

kept in the inner room, and are tied on the necks of certain buffaloes for a short time on special occasions. The other bells, called *kudrs mani*, are kept outside the door of the dairy and are put on the necks of the *punir* on the same occasions.

There were several points of interest about the lamps used to light the dairies. At one time it seems that every *palol* was provided with an iron lamp with a number of cavities, each cavity being fitted with a wick. These lamps are reputed to have been as old as the foundation of the *ti* dairies. One of the lamps which is still in existence at the Nòdrs *ti* (that of the *warspoh*) is said to have been brought from Amnòdr. There is some doubt about the exact number of cavities and wicks in these lamps, but in the existing lamp of the Nòdrs *ti* there seems to be little doubt that there are seven cavities and wicks, and the lamp is called *önavpelk*, "the lamp of the seven holes." All the seven wicks are only lighted on special occasions (*ponnol*), and on most days only one is used. At some dairies these iron lamps have been long lost, and in these cases the *palol* used to make lamps of the bark of the *tudr* tree. According to Marshall (p. 141), these lamps have five wicks, and this appears to be still the case at the Kars *ti*, where there were formerly two iron lamps, one with five cavities and one with four, and in the lamp now used at this *ti* they still keep up the use of five wicks on special occasions, using only two on ordinary days. It is possible that Marshall derived his information from a man who had been *palol* at this *ti*. At one of the dairies of the Pan *ti* there is an old iron lamp with seven cavities, and at the other, where a bark lamp is used, it has three wicks. At the present time the dairymen rarely trouble to make bark lamps, but are content with earthenware lamps procured from the bazaar. If these are broken and cannot be replaced at once, bark lamps are used during the interval. The wicks of the lamps, for whichever lamp they may be used, are always made of *tuni* taken from the garments worn by the *palol*, and the substance used in the lamps is butter.

Of the two fireplaces in the outer room, the *tòratthwaskal* is used for ordinary purposes, for cooking food, &c. The

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 354 other, called *pelkkatitthwaskal*, or sometimes *persinkafttth-waskal*, is used for lighting the lamp or for any other purpose directly connected with the vessels of the inner room.

THE DAILY LIFE AT THE TI

234 512 788 793 The inhabitants of the *ti* rise before it is light, probably about five a.m., and on getting up from the bed some say "*ekirzam meidjam*."[1] The *kaltmokh* goes at once to open the *tu* in which the buffaloes have been penned for the night. The *palol* salutes with hand to forehead when he leaves the sleeping-hut and goes to the front of the dairy, where there is water standing in a bamboo vessel called *papun*, corresponding to the *kepun* of the village dairy. He washes his hands and face, and then washes out his mouth by taking up water with his right hand, pouring into his left, and taking the water into his mouth from the latter. It is noticeable that the *palol* uses his left hand for this purpose of personal cleanliness, and not the right hand, which is chiefly used in his sacred work. He then ties up his straggling hair at the back of his head, bows down at the threshold of his dairy and enters, in some cases saying "*ekirzam meidjam*" as he does so.

When the *palol* enters the outer room of the dairy, he transfers fire from the *tòratthwaskal*, where it has been burning all night, to the other fireplace, the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and then takes off the *kubuntuni*, which has been his covering during the night and puts the *pòdrshtuni* round his loins. He lights the lamp by means of three pieces of wood of the kind called *kid*, taken from the *pelkkatitthwaskal*, and while so doing begins to pray, using the prayer of the *ti*. After lighting the lamp, and while still continuing to pray, he takes up the *persinkudriki* and knocks with it on the middle of the three vessels called *persin*, going from one *persin* to another, when he pauses to take breath. I had the greatest difficulty in finding out exactly what happened in connexion with this

[1] These are the *kwarzam*, or prayer names (see Chapter X) of Teikirzi and Tirshti. They were used by Naburs (64) who had been *palol* at the Pan *ti*, but it is doubtful whether their use or the use of any other *kwarzam* on these occasions is an established custom.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

followed the buffaloes, the Kuudr people should no longer have the privilege of becoming *palol* of the Nòdrs *ti*, and that in future the *palol* of this *ti* should be taken either from Piedr or Kusharf.

At the present time[1] the *palol* of the *tiir* is Karkievan of Piedr, who has now been continuously in office for sixteen years, having also had a previous period of office as *palol*. The *palol* of the *warsir* is Nerponers of Kusharf (66), who had been in office for about a year at the time of my visit. The *kaltmokh* is Katsog of Kuudr (55).

Although now one *palol* belongs to Piedr and the other to Kusharf, it is not necessary that this should be so and it has happened frequently that both *palol* have belonged to the Piedrol.

The *mani* of the *tiir*, which is said to be made of iron, is that called Persin, of whose miraculous birth an account has been given. The *mani* of the *warsir* is called Keu, and is said to be made partly of gold, partly of silver, and partly of iron. Milk is put on the former bell by the *palol* at every churning and milking, but Keu is not 'fed.'

In addition there are four *mani* of the kind called *kudrs*, which are tied to the *punir* and kept outside the door of the dairy. Three of these belong to the *punir* of the *ti palol*, and are called Arvatz, Kiûdz, and Kerâni, and should be tied to buffaloes named Püthiov, Peires, and Nersâdr respectively. The fourth bell belongs to the *punir* of the *wars palol*, and is called Kerâni. It should be tied to a buffalo named Tâlg.

The lamp of the *wars poh* is one of those made of iron, and is said to have come from Amnòdr. It is called Önâvpelk, the lamp of the seven holes. The *ti poh* had a similar lamp at one time, but it has been lost.

Three horns are kept in the sleeping-hut of the Nòdrs *ti*. Two belong to the *tiir*, and are called Kiûdrkûdr and Pudothkûdr. The third belongs to the *warsir*, and is called Teigun. (For the origin of these horns see the story of Korateu or Kuzkarv in Chap. IX.)

One feature of the *ti poh* at Mòdr, which is certainly not

[1] In 1902.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 The dairy of the *warsir*, or the *warspoh*, is closed and may
234 not be entered by the *palol*, and he is not allowed to milk
618 the *warsir*, though he may milk the *punir* belonging to the *warspoh*.

793 Formerly the *palol* of the *tarsir* was chosen from the Kwaradr division of the Keadrol and the *palol* of the *warsir* from the other division of this clan, this arrangement being said to have been ordained by Kwoten.

The Kwaradr division is now extinct and the remainder of the Keadrol are not very numerous, and the present *palol* of the *tarsir* is Peilet (64) of Piedr. A few years ago both dairies were occupied, the *palol* of the *tarsir* being Naburs (64) of Piedr, and the *palol* of the *warsir*, Pichievan (69) of Keadr. The latter is said to have thrown up his office because the income was not large enough.

[765] If there should be a death among the Panol, the second funeral ceremonies (the *marvainolkedr*, or so-called 'dry funeral') could not take place unless both dairies were occupied. Since Pichievan resigned, no Pan man has died, but when this happens a second *palol* would have to be appointed before the *marvainolkedr* could be held.

234 The *tarsir* have two bells, called Kòsi and Pongg. The
354 former is tied on a buffalo called Kòsi, and Pongg on one
778 called Enmars. Milk is only put on the bell called Kòsi.
463 At the dairy of these buffaloes there is an iron lamp of the ancient kind with seven cavities and seven wicks, and the horn is called Kwatadr. The *warsir* have one bell, called Keituzan, which is put round the neck of a buffalo called Kòjiu. The old iron lamp belonging to these buffaloes has been lost and an earthenware or bark lamp is used in its stead. The horn is called Persagan, but as these buffaloes have no *palol*, this horn is not now blown.

The people of Pan are *mòrol* at this *ti*.

THE KWÒDRDONI TI

234 There was some difference of opinion as to the origin of
173 this *ti*, which is often called the Arsaiir *ti* by the Todas.
773 According to one account, given to me by Kwòdrdoni people,

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

water there. Light is undoubtedly an object of reverence to the Todas. Captain Harkness states that when the household lamp is lighted in the evening, obeisance is paid to it by bringing the right hand to the face, and this sign of reverence is still shown. In the dairy ceremonial the lamp and the light it gives are also undoubtedly reverenced, and lighting the lamp is, as we have seen, an act of a ceremonial character.

In some cases the lamps used in the dairies are certainly very ancient and are believed to have come from Amnòdr, but it is clear that they are not reverenced merely on this account, for a lamp of modern origin would, when once consecrated, be treated with as much reverence as those which had come down from antiquity.

I did not learn that any sign of reverence is paid to fire, but the fire of the dairy may undoubtedly be said to have a sacred character. Whenever a new dairy is visited or an old dairy is reconsecrated in connexion with the *pepkaricha* ceremony, fire is made afresh by friction. Once made, it was, so far as I could learn, kept continuously alight; if on any occasion the fire should go out, it would have to be made again by friction. In the *ti* dairy there are two fireplaces, one in which fire burns continuously, while the other is lighted by brands transferred to it from the other, and the lamp is lighted by a brand taken from this sacred fire. Here it would almost appear as if the former fire had a profane character, so that it would be regarded as desecration to light the sacred lamp directly from it.

The fire of the *tòratthwaskal* is used to cook food which has come from outside, and the use of an intermediate fire to light the lamp is in keeping with the general law of the procedure of the *ti* dairy, according to which the sacred objects are prevented from all possible contamination from the outer world by employing vessels or other objects as intermediaries.

Fire has also to be made by friction in other ceremonies, and especially at those called *teutûtusthchi* and *erkumptthpimi* and at the funerals of males. At the first ceremony the fire is made by the *palol*, and at the second by the dairyman conducting the ceremony. At the *azaramkedr* of a man the fire is made by a man of the same clan as the deceased, and this

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The Todas have two kinds of fireplace, the waskal, consisting of three stones, and the *kudrvars*, with four stones. The former is found in the dwelling-hut, in the *wursuli*, and in the *ti* dairy, and the latter in the *tarvali* and *kudrpali*; but I did not discover why the more sacred dairies should have the same kind of fireplace as the house. According to one account *waskal* is the name used by the Teivaliol and *kudrvars* by the Tartharol, and it may be that this is the explanation of the apparent anomaly.

THE HOUSE

Various parts of the house have definite names, and may only be used for certain purposes. As we have already seen, there are raised seats both outside and inside the house, the latter being used as beds. These are made of earth, the upper surface of which is made level, and the whole is usually well coated with a layer of dried buffalo-dung, sometimes nearly half an inch thick. The general name for these raised parts is *tün*, the seats outside the building on either side of the door being called *kwottün*, while the bed on the right side of the interior is the *meitün*, and that on the left side the *kitün*. The part of the hut where the bed or beds stand is called the *idrtul*.

The floor is called *kuter*, and this is divided into two parts by the hole in which the women pound the grain. The part near the door is called *kikuter*, and it is in this part only that dairy operations may be carried on. The part behind the pounding hole is especially assigned to the women and is called *meilkuter*.[1]

The end wall, on which various objects, such as sticks, are kept is called *tashten*, and the fireplace, usually on one side, is called *waskal*. The part above the fireplace where firewood is kept is called *waskalkübi*, and the place of the cooking vessels is called *odikudi*. The western side of the hut is sometimes called the *meilmakol*, and the eastern side the

[1] It might have been expected that the part of the floor near the door used for the dairy operations would be the *meilkuter*, but it is not so. *Meil* also means 'west,' and the explanation may be connected with this.

They live in villages called *mands*[a] (*Plates* VIII., IX.), of which the following description is given in Dr. Shortt's work :—

"A *mund* or *mott* is the term used to designate a hamlet or village by the Toda tribe. Each mund or hamlet usually comprises about five buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy, and the other for sheltering the calves at night. These huts or dwellings form a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width, and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions, that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high, and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep, and rendered hard by constant use. The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two empty beer bottles, and a broken goglet.

"Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high, and includes a space or yard measuring 18 × 10 feet."

The inhabitants of a mand are generally related to one another, and consider themselves one family. The family will possess one or two, sometimes three mands in different parts of the hills, to which they resort periodically for grazing their buffaloes. Each mand has its acknowledged pasture ground, which is not encroached upon by

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[a] Derived from *Mané*, Canarese for *House*, pronounced and commonly spelt *Mund*. The words *Mott* or *Mottt*, which so often appear in old records, seem also to be corruptions of *Mané*.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 NW60 Toda NW60

342 The dwelling of the Toda, though in no way very remarkable, differs, nevertheless, from that of any other uncivilised people that I have met with. The walls are made of roughly planed boards joined with clay; the sides are not more than three feet high, by about twelve feet long, and the ends are gables about eight feet high, having slightly rounded points. The roof is made [137] of reeds, and thatched with lemon-grass, a tall and very strong plant attaining a height of six to eight feet, having a strong perfume of lemon, and growing luxuriantly on the hills.

[354] The whole structure is very substantially and neatly built, but there is no chimney, and the smoke from the fires pours out at the door and exudes from every crevice. The entrance is an opening just sufficient to admit a full-grown person on hands and 351 knees, and is made to close from within. There is in front of the dwellings, partly enclosed by a low wall of loose stones, an open grassy space or court, which, owing to the nomadic habits of the 621 Todas, is always of a fresh green. The huts are built close together on some naturally smooth knoll in clusters of three or four only, and not in villages; these family groups are called *munds*.

343 There is always one hut set apart for the reception of milk, and this is placed a little to one side of the other huts, which in construction it precisely resembles. It is entirely surrounded by a 462 low wall, within which no females are permitted to enter on any account, nor are they allowed even to milk the buffaloes; a custom or rule which I have found existing also among the Kaffirs of South Africa.

621 The *munds* are situated at considerable distances apart, and 221 their inhabitants migrate periodically from one to another for 242 change of pasture. During the dry season—that is, from the beginning of January to the end of April—they are in the habit of setting fire to the grass, with a view to promoting its better growth; another Kaffir custom, and one, moreover, the beautiful effect of which at night will be remembered by all who have ever seen it on so large a scale.

221 Before leaving, the Todas close the entrances to their dwellings, 621 but take no further care regarding them. I found several times in the course of the three years that I spent on these hills, various *munds* suddenly deserted, and again, after an interval of some two or three months, as suddenly reoccupied. As there was nothing to prevent any curious person from entering these empty huts,

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

342 and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth, and standing to the height of 2½ to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other openings or outlets of any kind, either for the escape of smoke, or for the free ingress and egress of atmospheric air. The doorway itself is of such small dimensions that, to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours, and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance is effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboos closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood, and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing, which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or doorway. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square, and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or [352] [825] pial formed of clay, about two feet high, and covered with sāmbar (deer) or buffalo skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On [354] the opposite side is a fire place, and a slight elevation, on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part [353] of the building, faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof, and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here also the rice-pounder or pestle is fixed. [415] The mortar is formed by a hole dug in the ground, 7 to 9 inches deep, and hardened by constant use. The other household goods consist of three or four brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and some- [412] times a hatchet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded

Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up two or three feet high [with openings too narrow to permit of a buffalo entering through it]. The dairy is sometimes a building slightly larger than the others, and usually contains two compartments separated by a centre planking. One part of the dairy is a store-house for ghee, milk and curds, contained in separate vessels. The outer apartment forms the dwelling place of the dairy priest. The doorways of the dairy are smaller than those of the dwelling huts. The flooring of the dairy is level, and at one end there is a fire-place. Two or three milk pails or pots are all that it usually contains. The dairy is usually situated at some little distance from the habitations. The huts where the calves are kept are simple buildings, somewhat like the dwelling huts. In the vicinity of the mands are the cattle-pens or tuels[tu], which are circular enclosures surrounded by a loose stone wall, with a single entrance guarded by powerful stakes. In these, the herds of buffaloes are kept at night. Each mand possesses a herd of these animals." It is noted by Dr. Rivers that "in the immediate neighbourhood of a village there are usually well-worn paths, by which the village is approached, and some of these paths or kalvol receive special names. Some may not be traversed by women. Within the village there are also certain recognised paths, of which two are specially important. One, the punetkalvol, is the path by which the dairy man goes from his dairy to milk or tend the buffaloes; the other is the majvatitthkalvol, the path which the women must use when going to the dairy to receive butter-milk (maj) from the dairy man. Women are not allowed to go to the dairy or to other places connected with it, except at appointed times, when they receive buttermilk."

351 343 [342] [193] [354] 417 233 [422] 487 [562] [234] [562]

8:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

It is said that the munds and the other gods assemble there, and their approach and departure are known to the Todas when they see whirlwinds going into or leaving the dairy. All lamps when they are extinguished at night go to this dairy to provide light in case the gods are holding a night-assembly.

§4. The prayer at each dairy is made up of a list of names of objects connected with the dairy-complex, in forms usually different from their ordinary names. These are the kūasm (the word is best translated as "sacred name"). For each mund (in sense 2 of footnote 4) there is a pair of kūasm, as also for the people of the sib as a whole (among the toiṛθasoɨ̯ moiety, but not among the töüfiɨ̯joɨ̯), for the buffaloes of the sib, and for the funeral-munds, tiɪ-dairies (i.e. the most sacred grade of dairy which never has dwelling houses attached), and their buffaloes. Some of the more important mountains, rivers, Badaga villages, and other localities on the Nilgiris have similar pairs of kūasm, while all the other less important localities, small streams, valleys, ravines, hills, groves and the paths through them, level grounds and rocky grounds on the hills, buffalo tracks, etc., have a name and at least one kūasm by which they are mentioned in prayers. All these places are regarded as being closely associated with some mund, generally the nearest one. In addition, within the mund there are dairies, pens, calf-sheds, watering-places, rocks, cooking-places used at ceremonies, trees, shady places where the people sit, all with names and at least one kūasm which is used in prayers. The bells in dairies are also named. All such things and places are referred to in songs also by the kūasm.

MEN'S NAMES

§5. Each sib then has associated with it a large number of names and kūasm, most of them with sacred associations. It is from these that men are named. In many cases a name is used without change. ūuṣoiɪ of the meɨ̯gaiɪsoɨ̯ (48, Ushadr) is named after the chief male funeral-place of the sib. paiŋg (47, Pongg) is named after a bell in one of the dairies of the sib. maikaiɪ of the kaiɪsoɨ̯ (10, Makars) has the name of one of the tiɪ-places of this sib. toiɪjoɨ̯ɨ̯ of the kaiɪsoɨ̯ (15, Tarziolv) has the name of the kurpoɨ̯j dairy at the mund kaiɪ. komdüaɪ of the toiɪoiɪroɨ̯ (23, Kandu) is named after the pen of the kogfoɨ̯j dairy at the mund toiɪoiɪ. pepoib of the meɨ̯gaiɪsoɨ̯ (44, Pepeb) has the name of a snake said to live at kuiɪaiɪ, a mund of the sib. körroiɪzüuṭn of the körroiɪroɨ̯ (26, Keradrkutan) has as his name the second kūasm of the people of the sib. oiɪtjaɪz of the puɪrgoiɪroɨ̯ (34, Athurs) has the second kūasm of the people of the sib. munoimbiɾ̊ʧj, son of kaiɪsiθj (12, Kacheidl) has one of the kūasm of the buffaloes of his sib.

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

595 851 spring with them it not a physiological concept, but a socially legalized one. They are not the father of a given child simply because they are married to its mother or because they have procreated it physically; they are so because they have "given the bow and arrow" in the *pursütpimi* ceremony.

595 851 [843] The name means "bow we touch" and the ceremony takes place during the seventh month of pregnancy of a Toda woman – which appears as if the tribe realized that children can be born prematurely at that stage and live, and that therefore the determination of their paternity brooks no further delay. The occasion is the evening before the new moon. The woman, accompanied by the man who is to give the bow and arrow, goes to a *shola* near the *mad* at which she lives, and her companion cuts a triangular niche in a *kiersh* tree (Eugenia Arnottiana Wight) in which he places an earthenware Toda wick lamp, [824] [354] burning ghee. From the tree called *puv* (Sophora Glauca) they now fashion a miniature bow, by stretching a piece of the bark across a bent stick, and they equip it with an equally small arrow, made from *mark* grass (Andropogon schoenanthus).

In the meantime, the relatives of the man and woman have arrived at the spot and they are ritually saluted by the couple in the usual Toda manner. The woman's father promises to give a female buffalo calf, specifying in a consecrated formula which buffalo is its mother (in a case with which I was familiar (of Konokh and Mab of Kiur mund) it was the respective maternal uncles of the man and woman who made the promise and gave Rs. 5/- in cash). When this has been done, the woman goes and sits beneath the *kiersh* tree, facing the lamp in the niche above her.

The man then approaches her holding the bow and arrow and (in the instance mentioned above, he first thrice requested his father-in-law's permission to do this) addresses her so that all can hear, saying, after the *kwarshm* of his *mad*, the sentence: "*Terkishi Tirshk, pursvat!* (To Terkish and Tirshk, hold the bow)." The woman replies: "*Purs iveru?* (What is the name of the bow)" and the man answers her by [W4] giving the name for it which is that used in his clan, thus specifying for the onlookers that the child to be born will belong to his *modol*, as each of the Toda clans has another *kwarsh* name for the bow. Question and answer are repeated three times, after which the man gives the woman the bow and arrow. She raises it once to her forehead and, holding it in her right hand, lifts her eyes so as to gaze at the light in the tree trunk above her until it goes out for lack of fuel, something